Marriage in the Great Horde

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A [illegible] (agricultural Turk of Central Asia) who becomes rich builds himself a house; a Kazakh who becomes rich buys himself wives."[122] In this proverb a number of values in the Kazakh system are made clear: the relationship between marriage and wealth--notably bridewealth; the relationship between polygyny and wealth, in addition to the explicit content of the proverb, that wealth is a means to the end of acquiring wives, that a high social value is placed on polygyny.

The rules of marriage have been already mentioned in connection with the definition of lineage exogamy, and the definition of the lineage by the rule of exogamy. The question of the rules of marriage may now be raised in respect to the family, where in addition to lineage exogamy, the following marriage rules were in force at the end of the 19th century:

1. A father cannot marry his daughter-in-law's mother.

2. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters.

In these two rules, relationship in the maternal line is as powerful a determinant as that in the paternal line. The sons of brothers are permitted to marry sisters, despite the prohibition placed on brothers marrying sisters.

3. Marriage with the step-mother, step-sister or step-daughter is strictly forbidden.

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[122] Tingelstedt, 155.

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.125 4. Marriage of a widow with her deceased husband's father is forbidden.

5. Marriage of a girl with her father's wife's brother is forbidden.

6. Marriage with a milk sister or with the wet-nurse is forbidden. (This is a Koranic influence.)

The following marriages are permitted, although no preferential pattern appears to be indicated:

1. Patrilateral cross cousin marriage (father's sister's daughter to mother's brother's son).

2. Marriage with the wife's sister only after the death of the wife, if the former is not already betrothed. Sororal polygyny is taboo.

3. Marriage with the brother's wife's sister on the death of the brother, when she no longer counts as kin. This is the same as the rule in the case of the wife's sister.

4. The son with his father's widow other than his own mother.

587 5. Marriage with the father's brother's widow. By this and the following, the levirate is established.

6. Marriage with the brother's widow.[123]

000 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of

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[123] Grodekov, 29 ff.